

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 220663

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR, NATO, XF

SUBJECT:NAC AGENDA FOR OCTOBER 9

REF: USNATO 5470

I. STATEMENTS ON POLITICAL SUBJECT. NO GUIDANCE REQUIRED.

II. EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST. YOU SHOULD URGE NAC TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF PRESENCE OF NATO EXPERTS ON THE MIDDLE EAST, WHOSE WORKING GROUP WILL BE IN SESSION AT BRUSSELS OCTOBER 7-10. YOU SHOULD CONSULT US REP J. THOMAS MCANDREW (INR/RNA) FOR COMMENT AND ANALYSIS OF CURRENT POLITICAL AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS IN ISRAEL AND JORDAN. YOU MAY ALSO DRAW UPON US SUBMISSION TO EXPERTS' MEETING FOR BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON OVERALL SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ADDITIONALLY MISSION IS FREE TO DRAW ON FOLLOWING POINTS IN DISCUSSION:

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POLITICAL --THE SECRETARY WILL BE MAKING MAJOR EFFORT TO DEVELOP CONSENSUS LEADING TOWARDS FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. SECRETARY FEELS IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT MOMENTUM BE MAINTAINED IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS, OR WE RISK LOSING PROGRESS ALREADY MADE.

PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF RABIN VISIT HAD BEEN TO CONFIRM ISRAELI AGREEMENT ON NEXT STEP TO BE TAKEN IN MIDDLE EAST

NEGOTIATIONS. WE NOW HAVE SUCH AGREEMENT, AND WE ARE WORKING TO ACHIEVE UNDERSTANDING ON TIMING, MODALITIES AND RELATIONSHIP OF NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD. MOST IMMEDIATE POSSIBILITIES FOR NEGOTIATION ARE IN SINAI AND WEST BANK. SYRIANS WILL HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN NEXT ROUND BUT AT MOMENT WE ARE CONCENTRATING ON EGYPTIAN AND JORDANIAN FRONTS. PALESTINIAN PROBLEM CONTINUES TO COMPLICATE MATTERS, PARTICULARLY ON JORDAN FRONT. US CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT JORDAN MUST BEGIN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON WEST BANK ISSUES WITH ISRAEL BUT US ALSO RECOGNIZED NEED TO ASSURE THAT PALESTINIAN INTERESTS ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. HOWEVER, ISRAELI POSITION IS CLEAR -- ISRAEL WON'T SIT SIT DOWN WITH THE PALESTINIANS AS SUCH NOW AND US CONSIDERS IT EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT STEPS NOT BE TAKEN THAT WILL PREVENT NEGOTIATIONS FROM BEGINNING AS SOON AS PARTIES ARE READY.

AFTER SECRETARY'S TRIP, WE HOPE TO HAVE GONE MUCH FURTHER IN DEVELOPING A CONSENSUS ON NEXT STEP IN NEGOTIATIONS. WE WILL THEN FACE QUESTION OF HOW WE ADVANCE THIS STRATEGY IN ORDER TO BRING THE TWO SIDES CLOSER TOGETHER.

MILITARY -- WE CONSIDER THE MILITARY BALANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST TO BE ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED FROM WHAT IT WAS BEFORE THE OCTOBER 1973 WAR. ISRAEL REMAINS CAPABLE OF DEFENDING ITSELF AGAINST ATTACK BY ANY COMBINATION OF ARAB STATES. THE ARMIES OF ISRAEL, EGYPT, AND SYRIA HAVE DEMOBILIZED MOST OF THEIR RESERVES. ISRAELI AND SYRIAN FORCES, ESPECIALLY IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, MAINTAIN HIGH STATES OF ALERT AGAINST POSSIBLE PREEMPTIVE ATTACK. ISRAEL HAS RETAINED A SOMEWHAT HIGHER ACTIVE-DUTY LEVEL

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THAN IT HAD PRIOR TO LAST OCTOBER.

THE EGYPT-ISRAEL DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN

SCRUPULOUSLY IMPLEMENTED AND OBSERVED. ON THE ISRAEL-SYRIA FRONT, WE ARE SATISFIED THAT THE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN PROPERLY OBSERVED. WHAT DISCREPANCIES THERE HAVE BEEN HAVE LARGELY RESULTED FROM DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS

OF THE AGREEMENT OR OF MAPS OR FROM SITUATIONS NOT COVERED IN THE AGREEMENT.

WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF THE EGYPTIAN AIR FORCE, ARAB AIRCRAFT LOSSES FROM THE WAR HAVE BEEN MADE UP. IN ANY CASE, THE EGYPTIANS HAVE LESS THAN ONE PILOT PER AIRCRAFT. SYRIAN INVENTORIES OF EQUIPMENT HAVE BEEN INCREASED BEYOND THE PRE-OCTOBER LEVEL, AND INCLUDE, FOR

THE FIRST TIME, THE SOVIET MIG 23 (FLOGGER). DELIVERIES OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO EGYPT STOPPED IN MID-APRIL, WERE RESUMED AT A LOW LEVEL IN LATE AUGUST. IT SEEMS PROBABLE THAT SADAT WILL SEEK FURTHER SOVIET ARMS DELIVERIES DURING FOREIGN MINISTER FAHMY'S MID-OCTOBER TRIP TO MOSCOW AND AT THE NEXT EGYPTIAN-SOVIET SUMMIT. ISRAEL RETAINS THE CAPABILITY TO RESUME HOSTILITIES ON EITHER FRONT AT ANY TIME AND ITS MILITARY POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE ARABS IS AT LEAST AS GOOD AS IT WAS LAST OCTOBER. THE ARABS ALSO HAVE THE CAPABILITY OF RESUMING THE WAR AT ANY TIME. BOTH SIDES CONTINUE TO PLACE HIGH HOPES ON THE ONGOING US EFFORT TO PROMOTE A PEACE SETTLEMENT, AND WE THEREFORE BELIEVE AN EARLY OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES IS NOT IMMINENT. HOWEVER, UNLESS THERE IS SOME PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS IN THE COMING MONTHS, THE RISK OF ANOTHER ROUND OF FIGHTING WILL INCREASE.

PERHAPS SOME ALLIES MAY ASK FOR BRIEFING BY US FOLLOWING SECRETARY'S OCTOBER 8-13 VISIT TO EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN AND ISRAEL. FYI: WE ARE PRESENTLY CONSIDERING POSSIBILITY OF A REINFORCED NAC MEETING ON THE MIDDLE EAST, FOLLOWING THE SECRETARY'S UPCOMING VISIT, BUT WE HAVE NOT MADE ANY FINAL JUDGMENTS AS TO WHETHER IT DESIRABLE OR NECESSARY. WE NOTE THAT SECRETARY INCLUDED MIDDLE EAST RUNDOWN IN HIS TALKS

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WITH VARIOUS EUROPEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS DURING UNGA. WE WILL KEEP THIS QUESTION UNDER REVIEW. END FYI. KISSINGER

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